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cases there is a pretense of something actually existing which we hold to give a kind of backing to the scare. It used to be the French who were doing such and such dreadful things, increasing their navy in some surreptitious manner, bent on destroying the naval power of England. Now we have transferred this to the Germans. There is no reason for this. There is not the slightest proof that Germany desires more than to hold her own. There is abundant proof that whatever Germany is doing, we have compelled her to do by our own action. But though it is not true, it gives a pretense or a pretext for the scare. We ourselves have, by starting a new kind of battleship, the "Dreadnought," thrown down the challenge to the world. So far as other peoples are concerned, we are confronted simply by a ghost. They have done nothing but talk. Our fear arises from nothing. We have laid down the spending of huge sums of money over a number of years. But then we are told, "Ah, yes, but look at what Germany proposes to do!" We do not ask how and when the means of carrying out her proposals will be in her hands. They are merely on paper, and we must therefore abandon all idea of reduction of armaments or any question of expense. We did think of such things two years ago. We seemed to believe that the waste of wealth upon that which creates nothing might be stopped by a sensible and fair agreement between nations. But there has been the Hague Conference since then. Upon the one question upon which all other nations were agreed we refused to meet them, and to abandon the right of capturing private property at sea during war, and this avowedly because we have the greatest number of ships to do this particular kind of stealing, apparently forgetting that we have also the greatest number of merchantmen which can be stolen, and of which other peoples may rob us. As we would give nothing whatever up, we can hardly expect that we can get our neighbors, who are avowedly in the matter of navies weaker than we are, to believe much that it was actually an honest declaration on our part, that we desired the reduction of the armaments of the world.

But the Great British nation frightened of a ghost! Let us see in a word what this means:

At the present time we have seventy-five battleships and armored cruisers against forty-one possessed by France and Germany. We are called upon to go on building "Dreadnoughts," the largest of all. As we have built one "Dreadnought," and as we have announced our intention of going on building others during the next twelve years, until we shall have at the end of the time eighteen ships equal to our present "Dreadnought," Germany, France, America, and other nations, think that they must go and do likewise so far as they can. It is quite true that the "Dreadnought" will be superseded as every other battleship has been, and that the day will come when it has to be thrown on to the scrap-heap. That is nothing to our naval experts. It is the nation's money which is being wasted. But now the Germans, of whom we seem to be peculiarly afraid for no reason whatever, have laid down a program that in the same length of time they will build nine ships equal to our "Dreadnought." So that, at the end of the time, we shall have eighteen of these big ships to Germany's nine, and this is without counting at all the great num-

ber of ships we have now which are not yet on the scrap-heap, but good active ships. If we take these into account we find that, at the present time, we have not only a double superiority to Germany alone, but we have sixty-two battleships and armored cruisers against fifty-one which Germany and France have; or, to put it in another way, sixty-one against seventeen which Germany has.

Of course, now that the "Dreadnought" has been launched and is carrying defiance to all other peoples, we shall be told that we must count in Dreadnoughts only, but this is not reasonable. I do not want to enlarge upon this matter. It has been admirably treated in a pamphlet containing three articles, by Mr. Massingham and Mr. Morgan Browne, and in the valuable circular signed by Sir John Brunner, M.P., and Mr. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M. P., entitled "The Liberal Party and the Estimates: a Statement and Appeal." But I do wish most strongly to bring before such members of the Liberal Party as I can reach the fact that all this is absolutely contrary to what we have always professed. In this matter we are doing the work of the Tory Party, and the dirty work of the Tory Party. We are deeply pledged by our Members of Parliament from the Prime Minister downwards to the reduction of expenses upon armaments. Here the cry is enormously to increase them, and the whole of this money is to be got, not from an ideal reservoir of wealth, the State, but the people themselves. That only means we are to pay for this waste. The poorest are to be taxed for these ships, and the taxes fall far the most heavily upon those who can least afford them. It will be an iniquity if we give way upon this matter. It is not one to be argued about; it is one to be fought to the very end. It is no use pretending that we will save a little here and save a little there. We want the money which we are going to throw away over battleships and over their guns and ammunition. We want it for good, useful and most important purposes, and we ought to see that our members carry out that which they have led us to expect.

BENSHAM GROVE, GATESHEAD,
February 20, 1908.

Safety of the Republic Does Not Lie in Professional Soldiers Trained to Kill.

In a recent speech in the House of Representatives, when the Army Appropriation Bill was under consideration, General Isaac R. Sherwood of the Toledo (Ohio) District, said:

"Let us not fail to note that all the great students and scholars and humanitarians on both sides of the Atlantic are to-day for peace and arbitration. The ethical movement of the age is against standing armies and big navies. No man of heart or capable thought believes that a big army and navy are messengers of peace. Even an ordinary dog fancier knows better. He knows that peace among the canine tribe would never be promoted if every man should breed and train a fighting bulldog. And the dogs of war, whether canine or human, are just the same. [Applause and laughter.]

"The commerce of peace has wings of white, and her

mission is the uplifting and betterment of man. She would never crimson the ocean with blood and our fair land with ghastly skeletons. We need no big standing army in times of peace. Cut down the army to the peace basis before the Spanish-American war. Give the \$20,000,000 thus saved to the veterans that made the union of these States permanent forty-three years ago.

"The people whom I represent, living along the southern shores of Lake Erie (Toledo), want peace and repose and a fair chance in life's industrial battles. We are opposed to wasting the energies of business and commerce in idle armies that consume our substance and produce nothing. We know the better way and we like it.

"England and the United States for the past eighty-five years have shown the better way, on 3,000 miles of Canadian border, by an exchange of notes by which the 'fleet,' the 'navy' of both countries, on all the Great Lakes is limited to six vessels, none to be over one hundred tons burden; and the land border does not have a 'fort' or Chinese wall to 'protect' its citizens. By this effective, inexpensive, humane agreement vast sums that might have been spent on armies and navies are used to promote the benign pursuits of peace.

"No black-nosed cannon, on either shore, point threatening messengers of death at the great steel freighters that plow these placid waters, and no armored ships of war with idle guns and idle men will ever be needed to protect the freighted transports of peace, amity and prosperity. What we ask, what we have a right to demand, is that a part of the millions now wasted on armored ships of war and idle armies be devoted to the improvement of our rivers and harbors, to give impetus and opportunity to the advancing empire of a wholesome and beneficent industrial life.

"Who says we cannot afford to do justice to the veterans because reckless extravagance and criminal waste have caused a disastrous money panic, resulting in failing revenues? Cut down the enormous expenses and the way is easy. In 1890 the total appropriations for the support of the government totaled \$385,522,367. In 1907 the total expenditures amounted to the enormous sum of \$944,848,268. This includes the big deficit of \$24,051,257 reported to the present Congress. Here is the startling increase of \$459,325,901 over the appropriations for 1890 for a single year. These figures indicate a criminal waste of the people's energies, of not less than \$300,000,000 for one year alone. And the indifference of the masses of our people to this unparalleled extravagance is one of the most discouraging features in the decadence of patriotic devotion to public duty.

"The safety of the republic is in patriotic hearts and homes, and not in professional soldiers trained to kill for hire. A citizen soldiery established the republic and a citizen soldiery preserved it from dissolution.

"The hour is due to strike the death knell of militarism and imperialism—twin devils of rapacity and greed. The hour has come to call back the republic of our fathers to its own. The hour is at hand to cast off the greed of empire and return once more to the plain simplicity of Jeffersonian Democracy. It was in the first year of the nineteenth century that the author of the Declaration of Independence rode up to our national Capitol on horseback to kill the deadening power of

Federalism and start the new republic on its true career. Let us hope and pray that in this epoch-making year a second Jefferson will arise, inspired with the same irrepressible genius of Democracy, and redeem this nation from imperialism and militarism now sucking drop by drop the life-blood of a great, brave, patient people."

The Churches and the Big Navy Craze.

Several hundred of the clergymen of the city of New York, representing every religious body in the city, have united in a powerful protest against the proposed extravagant increase of the navy, which they have sent to their Senators and Representatives. They say:

"We, the undersigned clergymen of New York city, voicing, as we believe, the sentiments of many thousands of American citizens, earnestly protest against the extravagant demand for an addition of over \$60,000,000 in the form of four new battleships, cruisers, etc., to the naval budget of last year, inasmuch as no danger threatens the country not known last April, when President Roosevelt told the world: 'We are no longer enlarging our navy. We are simply keeping up its strength. The addition of one battleship a year barely enables us to make good the units which become obsolete.' Sixty-five per cent of the national income is now expended on war past and present. The increase of our naval budget has recently been used in the French Assembly as a reason for increasing its own; is largely responsible for the increase of armaments among Asiatic nations; and is well-nigh certain to retard the reduction in the armaments of the world for which we have so long been waiting. The growing discontent throughout the world at the appalling increase of waste of national resources must be heeded. We feel that this protest is the more necessary inasmuch as there are various new and effective methods now available for promoting international friendship and rationally settling difficulties, which these new demands seem to ignore."

In the long list of signers of this noteworthy protest are the names of many of the most distinguished men in the American pulpit, men like Bishop Potter, Bishop Greer, Dr. Parkhurst, Charles E. Jefferson, Thomas R. Slicer, Rabbi Wise, William R. Huntington, Frederick Lynch, Charles P. Fagnani, William Adams Brown, Leighton Parks, R. S. McArthur, Henry A. Stimson, Ballington Booth, Frank O. Hall, J. Ross Stevenson, William Hayes Ward, Charles Cuthbert Hall, Leighton Williams, William T. Sabine, and Newell Dwight Hillis.

A similar protest has been sent to Congress by a large body of the ministers of Boston. If this had not the great volume of the New York protest, it had relatively a larger proportion of the clergy of the city, and was a notable expression, signed by nearly one hundred and fifty ministers of all churches, and even more remarkable for the quality than the quantity of its signatures. Among these Boston protesters are Edward Everett Hale, Alexander Mann, Francis H. Rowley, Charles E. Beals, Charles G. Ames, James DeNormandie, Frederick B. Allen, Frederick E. Emrich, Edward Abbott, Luther T. Townsend, Christopher R. Eliot, Julian C. Jaynes, Charles F. Dole, Edward Cummings, Woodman Bradbury, John R. Gow, Rabbi Charles Fleischer, Bradley Gilman, Joseph H. Crooker, Alexander McKenzie, Samuel C. Bushnell, Reuben Kidner, George L. Paine, Samuel W. Dike, William H. Cobb, James B. Brady, Lewis B. Bates, James L. Barton, Paul Revere Frothingham and Bishop Mallalieu.

"It is refreshing," says the *Boston Advertiser*, "to